11:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1945
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

583 of adulterous unions in which these women have at any time lived. This would be too difficult. The Dok girl of Homestead No. XX is therefore included among the widow-concubines.

The third column lists the children born of thirty-two of these women according to the type of union in which they were born. Nyaleeni ♀ of Homestead No. XXIV is not included as no enquiry was made about her children. This column gives us some rough vital statistics for it shows a total of 109 children, an average of 3.4 children per woman, or, if we exclude the two barren women from this calculation, 3.6 children per woman. Women in advanced pregnancy were counted as having given birth to a single child. I say that these statistics are rough because there can be no doubt that a large number of children who died at birth or in infancy have not been recorded. Indeed no special enquiry into this matter was prosecuted. The number of children born per fertile woman is therefore probably much higher than 3.6, perhaps being as high as 5.0. It is also possible that there are more than 2 barren women in the village.

	Union of 33 women in 1936	Total unions of 33 women	Children of 32 women
Wives in simple legal marriage	3	23	44
Female husbands ..	1	1	—
Wives of female husbands ..	3	3	5
Wives in ghost-marriage ..	5	5	6
Wives in leviritic marriage ..	2	4	12
Widow-concubines	6	14	36
Unmarried concubines ..	3	5	3
Women living in adultery ..	1	—	3
Old women without mates ..	9	—	—

Certain considerations must be kept in mind if a false impresion is not to be created by these figures. Wives of female husbands and wives in ghost-marriage are to all intents and purposes in the same legal position as wives in simple legal marriages. If we include also wives in leviritic marriage we have a total of thirteen women living in one or other form of legal marriage and ten women living in one or other form of concubinage. It [591] must be remembered also that a number of young men of the village have young wives in the villages of their parents-in-law for it is Nuer custom that a wife does not join her husband till after she has weaned her first child.

• 162 165 The number of widow-concubines and of old women without mates (who are also widows) suggests a very high mortality rate among males. This is partly due to the constant fighting that used to go on, and still to a lesser extent goes on between Nuer. In a number of cases recorded in the village women have been widowed by the violent death of their husbands.

583 The amount of concubinage is remarkable and contrasts with the relatively small number of leviritic unions. The number of divorces recorded is small and this is probably a true index for Nuerland as a whole.

12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

7
631
619
620
161

EASTERN NUER.

Tribe.		*Population.*	
Thiang	10,000[1]	...	—
Lou	70,000[1]	...	100,000[2]
Lak	30,000[1]	...	(+Thiang 40,000)[2]
Gaawär	50,000[1]	...	30,000[2]
Jekany (Gaajok, Gaajak, Gaagwang)	160,000[1]	...	200,000[2]
Total for Eastern Nuer	320,000[1]	...	370,000[2]

There is no doubt that many of these estimates are excessive. The latest figures, and doubtless the most accurate ones, have not yet been published, but I have been privileged to see some of them. They place the Thiang at 7,750, the Lou at 19,025,[3] the Lak at about 18,000, the Gaawär at 18,000. There is a probability, therefore, that the Eastern Nuer do not exceed 200,000–300,000 in total number.

Jackson does not furnish figures for the Western Nuer. Those given in the Rejaf Conference Report present a total population of 60,000 for all tribes. The only tribal figures I have seen are based partly on tribal affinity and partly on areas of administration. They are :—

WESTERN NUER.

Tribe.	*Population.*	
Dok	11,063	(1927)
Jagei	5,195	(1927)
Nuong	7,421	(1927–1929)
Bul	10,924	
Lek (one section)	8,353	
Lek (another section + two sections of Jekany)	3,120	
Kïual (+ some Jekany)	2,953	(1927)
Jekany (one section)	4,031	(1927)
Total	53,060	

619
631

I am fairly certain that not every one of the names given on the map represents a tribe in the sense in which I am using the term. The exact nature of these political divisions will be known only as a result of further research. A tribe is defined as the largest political unit within the nation and it has four characteristics : (1) it has a territorial basis, (2) its members have a common name and sentiment, (3) it regulates disputes between its members, (4) it unites for war against other tribes or segments of other nations.

[1] Is an estimate given by Jackson (*op. cit.*) in 1923.

[2] Is an estimate given in the *Report of the Rejaf Language Conference*, in 1928.

[3] The wide discrepancy between the latest and earlier estimates for the Lou is possibly due in part to inclusion in the earlier figures of the Ngok Dinka and those Dinka who have since been transferred to Dinkaland by the Government.

14: Huffman M-5 (no date) 1931
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

with thin calves, are long, their hands and feet small. 141
The skin is dark. Men with well-shaped features, thin [142]
lips, and noses with high bridges and narrow nostrils are
not unfrequently met.

Most of the men are fierce, proud, and even haughty in 105
aspect. The Nuer are essentially pastoral; some kind of
farming is done, fishing and hunting are also common,
but the only occupation worthy of a man is to look after
his cattle. The attachment of a man to his cows and of a
boy to the bull with which his father presents him may
almost be called religious. The one real sport for men is
fighting, or cattle raiding, which is practically the same
thing. These predatory expeditions are carried on
wherever opportunity offers and are a cause of constant
friction among the tribes. In their folk-lore tales a
favourite subject is the story of cattle fights.

The main groups of the Nuer and the districts in which 162 ●
they live are:[1] 101

Garjok, Garjak, Jekiang (Nasser District) .	200,000
Lau (Abwong District)	100,000
Gaweir (Fanjak District)	30,000
Lak and Thiang (Zeraf Island, Fanjak District)	40,000
Western Nuer (Yivrol District) . . .	60,000

One group, the Atwot, have partly adopted Dinka as 197
their language.

The Nuer houses lie close to large river systems, so 361
that during the rains a large part of their country is a
great swamp, the villages being mostly situated on
ridges along the rivers. The chief vegetation is high
grass, interspersed with single trees or groups of trees.
The country on the upper Sobat, near or in Abyssinia,
is however better wooded and has sparse forests.

[1] Cf. Report of the Rejaf Language Conference 1928, London 1928.